

Thousands Rally to uphold the Revolutionary Banner of UTUC (Lenin Sarani) at Patna

The United Trades Union Congress (Lenin Sarani) held its 16th All India Conference in Patna from February 16 to 18 last. Since it had met last, significant developments have taken place in the international and national situations. The crisis in the capitalist world, in this third phase of intense general crisis of capitalism, has accentuated furthermore and the bastion of the imperialist forces, the US imperialism, has now changed its tactics from war manoeuvre to peace manoeuvre. The struggle of the working class and other sections of the toiling people, all the world over, for emancipation from exploitation of all sorts has to be waged in increasingly more complex situations, particularly because of the revisionism-hegemonism of the Soviet leadership. At home, the ever deepening crisis in the economic, political and cultural spheres in the life of the Indian people has brought in its wake unprecedented developments. The internal Emergency was clamped by the previous Government of Indira Gandhi as a means to suppress the growing tide of democratic mass movements against the capitalist order and overcome the crisis in the Congress party, particularly when the leadership of Sm. Gandhi was at stake. The ruling capitalist class has made definite moves to install the two-party parliamentary system in this country in a bid to arrest the legitimate democratic mass movements within the confines of the parliamentary system and thereby perpetuate the rule of capitalist exploitation and oppression.

The formation of the Janata Party as a bourgeois alternative to the Congress to defend and safeguard the interests of the ruling capitalist classes, and its coming to power at the centre in most states is a direct consequence of this bourgeois design. The social demo-

cratic parties, particularly the CPI(M) and the CPI, have now been openly and desperately trying to win the confidence of the ruling class in the hope of finding berth in the two-party parliamentary system.

In this background, confronted with a two-pronged attack—one from the bourgeois state machine and the other from the social democratic forces—the working class movement in our country is now on a historic threshold. It has been passing through a most trying time and hard days of bitter struggle are ahead in the face of extreme odds and hostilities, extreme torture, repression and treachery. The challenge has come up today before the working class movement.

The UTUC (Lenin Sarani) guided by the thoughts of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the great leader of the proletariat, is the only trade union organisation in our country which has been consistently upholding the proletarian revolutionary line in the trade union movement and striving hard all along to coordinate and lead the working class movement freeing it from the grip of economism reformism and advance it to its logical culmination the establishment of a socialist society free from exploitation of all sorts of man by man.

The big trade unions and their bosses are increasingly and nakedly resorting to opportunism revealing their utter bankruptcy and obstructing the development of united movement. Drawing lesson from their experiences the working people in factories and fields throughout the country are rallying in ever-increasing number under the banner of the UTUC (Lenin Sarani). The great dividing line in the working class movement today is between the forces which the UTUC (Lenin Sarani) represents in the struggle against the capitalist rule and

(Contd. to Page 4)



Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, General Secretary, SUCI, the Chief Guest addressing the gathering in the open session on 16th Feb. '79 in Patna. Sitting from left to right : Comrades, A. K. Pandey, N. R. Sing, Fatic Ghosh, Sankar Sing, S. K. Paramanik, Prativa Mukherjee, Pritish Chanda and Tapas Dutta

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Inside the West Bengal Assembly

[Comrade Debaprosad Sarkar, leader of our legislative Party in the West Bengal Assembly brought an important motion in the current budget session of the assembly, for urging the withdrawal of the notorious Industrial Relations Bill now in the parliament and this was carried unanimously. It is to be noted that CPI(M) and its Trade Union wing CITU which spoke much against the bill did nothing to bring this motion although many of their top leaders are members of the Assembly right from the Chief Minister. The bourgeois press has, for obvious reasons, played down this move of our Party. But we wonder why CPI(M), CPI and other parties whose trade union wings CITU, AITUC, HMS, BMS, HMP, INTUC etc. have all spoken against the I R bill, are not taking similar move in different state legislatures where they either run the Government or have 'friendly' ties with the ruling party. This would have certainly strengthened the working people's movement against this sinister move of the Janata Government. However, we are giving hereunder a gist of the speech of Comrade Sarkar on his motion for urging the Central Government to withdraw the bill. We will also give in brief the speech of Comrade Sarkar on the motion of thanks to the Governor's speech. —Ed. Board. Proletarian Era]

On Industrial Relations Bill

Comrade Sarkar's motion reads: I beg to move that—'whereas the Industrial Relations Bill, 1978, as introduced in the Lok Sabha, seeks to curb the trade union movement and deprive the working people of most of their trade union rights earned through long struggle.

Therefore, this Assembly urges upon the Central Government through the State Government to withdraw the Industrial Relations Bill 1978, in the interest of the working people in India.'

Comrade Sarkar, while speaking on this motion, reminded the house that the said Industrial Relations Bill had been placed in the Lok Sabha by the India Government on 31st August last year and as announced, would be placed for consideration of the House during the current budget session. This bill if allowed to find place in Statute book will mean death knell to trade union movement in our country. By this piece of enactment whatever little trade union and democratic rights the working people of our country had wrested from the unwilling hands of the capitalists through untold sacrifices and hard and long struggles for the last fifty years would be

simply taken away. This would give the capitalist exploiters a more free hand to mount their onslaughts against the working people and pass the bauk of crisis of moribund capitalism on to them without any effective resistance whatsoever.

Comrade Sarkar then explained the various anti-people and anti-democratic provisions and motives of the I R bill. He showed that by the various blatantly anti-democratic provisions, the bill seeks to bring the trade unions and working people's movement under tight control of the government, negating the right to strike and even interfering into the internal affairs and autonomy of the trade union bodies.

Comrade Sarkar said that such an authoritarian measure aimed at robbing the workers of their rights which they earned from the imperialist rulers through hard struggles and have since been enjoying is unprecedented both as to its sweep and magnitude. Exposing the real motive of this move, Comrade Sarkar showed that notwithstanding the clamours of the bourgeois and social democratic parties about the so-called restoration of democracy, fact remains that the bourgeoisie now in the

midst of ever-deepening crisis is bringing measures one after another to contain democratic movement of the people, because it wants to pass on the burden of ever deepening crisis of moribund capitalism to the working people. This cannot be done if the working people can develop their resistance through organised movement. That is why the fighting instruments of the working people like their trade union bodies are being tried to be converted into mere appendages of the capitalist system. The bourgeoisie wants the oppressed workers to submit to the tyrannies of capital as mere slaves. But however the bourgeoisie and its agents may try to stem the tide of class struggle by all the fairy tales of 'law and order', 'peace in industry' in this exploitative class-divided society, the law of class struggle is asserting and reasserting.

Comrade Sarkar mentioned in this connection, the mammoth gathering of the working people in New Delhi before the parliament in November last to raise the mighty voice of protest—'No bargain on this notorious bill—but its total scrapping. In order, to take part in this nation-wide protest and resistance of the working people against the proposed draconian measure of the government at the Centre, Comrade Sarkar hoped that all sections of the house would come in support of the motion. The house carried the motion unanimously.

Comrade Debaprosad Sarkar's Speech on the Governor's Address

Comrade Debaprosad Sarkar started his speech by the remark that the manner in which the hopes and expectations of the toiling people have been belied by the persistent non-left and anti-people acts and measures of the 'Left Front' Government in its nineteen month's rule makes the

real situation wide of the mark from the rosy picture painted in the Governor's Address. There is misery and utter destitution in people's life all around and this being the reality, the highblown praises and platitudes for the government's so-called achievements in the Governor's Address are not only pathetically unreal but painful incongruities.

The governor has said in his speech that the government's efforts to restore the democratic rights of the people were kept alive in the year under review. Surely the democracy of the 'Left Front' Government's conception is a novel one. It accepts the rights of tigers and other ferocious animals to have habitats but denies that right to men. That is why for shooting tigers and wild animals the shooters are to face punishment, but those who kill men by wanton firings go scot free and let alone punishment meted out to them even the demand for enquiry is turned down most arrogantly by this government. This refers to what has happened in Marichjhanpi in the Sunderbans where, the helpless refugees, who in their utter desperation came all the way from Dandakaranya to build their own habitat out of their own toil, were the victims of wanton police oppression and brutalities like of which there is not much precedent in the country. The entire exercise was a slur on any civilised code. But this is nothing new in the experiences of the people of the state. Last year, the same refugees were fired upon in Kashipur, Burdwan, the flood-affected hungry people were also fired upon in Murshidabad. The oppressed people are being treated not as men but as inferior animals. The people of the state cannot also forget the brutal police repressions on the workers of the Santaldih and Kolaghat power plants. This is the real measure of the toiling people's democratic rights that the government is said to have been restoring!

Indeed, not a day passes without an instance of police torture and high handedness—firing of tear-gas shells or bullets on the people who make an organised move for a just cause. This flexing of muscles of the coercive apparatus of the government has become almost a daily affair. Only the other day, on 8th February, in the North Bengal, the Siliguri Medical College students were agitating against the increase in bus fare but police lathicharged, fired teargas shells and arrested 36 students. What was their offence? They were agitating against fare increases in private buses. Police not only wantonly behaved but subjected the agitating students to tortures after arresting them. Food and even drinking water were denied to them. The arrested persons were on hunger strike against this police barbarity and a movement was there for their release and stopping the fare increase. So, is this the specimen of democratic rights of the people that the government claims to have restored?

Comrade Sarkar continued, this is taste of 'democratic rights' the people both in town and villages are having. It is known to all, that the agricultural workers and poor peasants along with lower middle class peasantry, over a wide area in the South 24-Parganas have been struggling for long against the rapacities of the jotedars and the jotedar-police-bureaucracy combine and their machinations, for establishing their just rights, under the leadership of our party. It is our experience that during the Congress rule, the jotedars were backed by police and administration in bringing down all sorts of depreations on the poor of the villages. They went with impunity even after robbing the sharecroppers of their share of paddy, forcible harvesting, evicting them at their will, depriving the agricultural workers from just wages so on and so forth.

(Contd. to Page 3)

Whose Prosperity ?

While the ruling parties whether Congress or Janata talk of so many plans and programmes as also achievements for the prosperity of the people the real test lies in facts. What has been the betterment and prosperity of the people is best understood by them from concrete experiences and needs no statistical analysis. But here is the picture about the prosperity of the monopolists even in the midst of crisis, the economy has been passing through for considerable time. The table and analysis about increase in their profits and assets as also their grip and control over the economy although they are just like the tip of an iceberg coming as they do from the government and bourgeois papers. But then let us see what even those say about the continuous prosperity of the ruling class the real masters in the socio-economic fields of this capitalist society.

Assets of some among the 25 big houses

Name of the industrial houses	(Rs. in crores) 1972		(Rs. in crores) 1976	
	Assets	Profit before tax	Assets	profit before tax
Birla	589.42	45.86	974.63	118.84
Tata	641.93	40.92	980.77	56.12
Mafatlal	183.74	14.65	256.54	25.90
J. K. Singhania	121.45	5.92	241.23	7.97
Thapar	136.16	11.04	202.24	15.81
Bhiwandiwalla	45.91	3.93	166.43	12.20
Kirloskar	86.46	2.03	152.47	13.90
ACC (Sahu & Jain)	134.36	4.45	160.21	5.73
Mahinder & Mahinder	58.49	3.65	126.06	6.97
Macneil and Magor	64.80	2.80	113.35	19.63
Bajaj	63.32	8.72	101.51	7.69
Khatau (Bombay)	73.44	6.82	100.22	14.85
Scindia	107.73	5.44	177.08	5.63

From the figures, it is obvious that these monopoly houses considerably increased their profits and assets. The House of Birla has increased its profits before tax by as much as Rs. 72.98 crores and turnover by Rs. 532.04 crores and assets by Rs. 385.21 crores far surpassing any other industrial house during the five year period from 1972-76.

With regard to increase in the assets during this period also the House of Birla surpassed the other industrial houses by effecting an increase of Rs. 385.21 crores followed by Tata, Rs. 338.84 crores. Bhiwandiwalla Rs. 120.52 crores, J. K. Singhania Rs. 119.78 crores. The percentage increase in assets was largest in the case of Bhiwandiwalla.

In the case of turnover also the highest increase was recorded by the House of Birla followed by Tatas (Rs. 445.44 crores) Oil India (Rs. 263.92 crores) Mafatlal (Rs. 182.39 crores) ICI (Rs. 157.09 crores), Thapar (Rs. 130.22 crores).

With regard to total assets in 1976 the House of Tata with Rs. 980.77 crores still slightly surpassed the House of Birla with Rs. 974.63 crores. In the total turnover also these two houses are neck to neck with Rs. 1138.28 and 1132.04 crores respectively.

In 1976, there were 25 houses with assets over Rs. 100 crores each. Together they had assets of Rs. 5,476 crores. These houses in 1972 had assets of Rs. 3,151 crores. Thus they increased their assets by Rs. 2,325 crores or by 69.1 p.c. After due adjustment in the figures published by RBI the total private sector assets stood at Rs. 11,829 crores in 1972 but came up to Rs. 17,251 crores in 1976. Thus the private sector assets as a whole improved by 45.8 p.c. The growth rate in assets of the 25 big houses which was 28.7 p.c. in 1972 increased to 31.7 p.c. in 1976.

According to RBI figures after due adjustments, the total assets of all central and state government undertaking

i.e. of public sector grew from Rs. 5,607 crores in 1972 to Rs. 13,045 crores in 1976. The increase was thus 132.7 p.c. The growth rate of public sector was thus nearly three times that of the private sector.

As to the profits and rate of profits of the private sectors, the government figures show that profits before tax of 25 big houses went up from Rs. 269 crores to Rs. 455 crores or by 69.1 p.c. during this period. The total private sector profits

went up from Rs. 86 crores in 1972 to Rs. 1,587 crores or by 84.1 percent.

After this game of figures, let us quote some excerpts from a rather interesting editorial comment of the Economic Times of 9th February '79. The comment is a stout defence for the performances and achievements of the private sector in general and of the big houses in particular but while doing so, it spells out some home truth.

".....The bare facts about their growth and the pattern of investment they have followed yield no grounds for complaint. The 25 top industrial groups in the private sector account for around 31 p.c. of the total assets of private industry and 18 p.c. of those of the private and public sectors put together.

Between 1963 and 1971 the private joint stock sector outside the large houses grew appreciatively faster than the 20 top houses. As a result while the total assets of the

(Contd. to Page 6)

Inside the West Bengal Assembly

(Contd. from Page 2)

In short, the law of the jungle prevailed where the oppressed did not get the protection of the government but the oppressors got all the backings. Police Camps used to be set up in jotedar's houses on the eve of harvesting season to terrorise the poor peasants to submission to the hoodlums of the jotedars. This has been the common experience of the poor peasants, under the police stations of Canning, Kultali, Joynagar and other places. But has the situation changed a wee bit to justify the claim of the 'Left Front' Government?

The honourable member Dinesh Mazumdar (whip of the ruling front in the Assembly) claimed in his speech that police camps would not be set up in jotedar's house according to the policy of the government. But is he aware of the wide gap between what they declare and the reality? If he is not aware he can take note that police camps are still being housed by the jotedars as in the case of Atul Sahu of Kishorimohanpur under Kultali P.S. who owns about 700 bighas of lands. So, is the case of Barin Roy, a first grade government contractor, a notorious jotedar and one time local pillar of Congress (I) in Itkhola Anchal under Canning P.S. It is from this police camp housed by Roy that on 27th January, indiscriminate police firings were made on the peaceful procession of the poor peasants under the leadership of our party, at the instigation of the local jotedars and vested interests as a result of which ten peasants received serious bullet injuries. We moved the Home Secretary and other high officials of police and administration and even a procession of thousands of peasants came to the city to hand over a memorandum demanding immediate enquiry and deterrent punishment to the culprits to the Chief Minister. But the government's democratic norm is such that let alone meeting the deputa-

tion, not even an enquiry into this dastardly attack of the jotedar police combine on the poor peasants has still been ordered. Rather those who have suffered injuries and attacks are being falsely implicated in framed up cases and threatened with dire consequences. Those concrete facts speak volume about the hollowness of the government's claim and its solicitude for the poor.

Comrade Sarkar then dwelt on the claim of the government's achievement spelt out in the governor's address to the effect that the government continued its assault on the widespread poverty in the villages through all-out implementation of the land reforms programme. Comrade Sarkar observed that the biggest achievement as claimed by this government seemed to be what goes by the name 'Operation Barga' or a scheme of recording the rights of the sharecroppers. Although in this class divided capitalist society mere legal measure not backed up by popular movement is of no use in bringing about a real change as is borne out by past experiences of various land reforms legislations which the jotedars and rural vested interests go on violating with impunity with the help of police and bureaucracy, still then, did this government give slightest thought and consideration to the legal validity of this scheme before advertising it with much fanfare? Fact shows that this so-called scheme has no legal footing as the Calcutta High Court in its judgment has observed that it is "in the nature of administrative directive" having "no statutory force". This is the worth of the much vaunted scheme which this government wants to pass as a very radical step! No wonder that this fails to touch even the fringe of the problem and for this, the jotedars have no reason to be scared. But it serves the 'dual purpose', duping the poor in the villages as also protecting the interests of the jotedars and rural vested interest.

(Contd. to Page 6)

The Bourgeoisie Brings Two-Pronged Attacks Against Trade Union Democratic Agents and the other from Outside—Repression and

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the forces of compromise who are working for the perpetuation of the capitalist rule through deceptive moves and tactics.

In the background of this situation the present All India Conference of the UTUC (Lenin Sarani) assumed great revolutionary significance for the working class and other sections of the toiling people of our country. The great enthusiasm and response aroused among the working people in different parts of the country on the occasion of this conference are testimony to the peoples' increasing realisation of this significance.

Preparations had been going on in different states for months before the conference started. Meetings were held, numerous group sittings organised and intense campaign conducted among industrial workers, agricultural labourers, peasants, office employees and other sections of the working people to rouse them to the call of the hour the historic task ahead which **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, the great leader of the proletariat, an outstanding Marxist thinker of this era, the founder-General Secretary of the SUCI and the revered departed President of the UTUC (Lenin Sarani) had outlined before the working people. Reminding the teachings of **Comrade Ghosh**, Comrade Prithvi Chanda, General Secretary of the UTUC (Lenin Sarani) had urged the working people, on the eve of the conference, to take up the preparatory work for the conference as a movement in order to fulfil the historic task devolving upon them.

The work had indeed assumed the character of a movement and the working people in the different states had enthusiastically responded by participating in the preparatory campaign in increasing numbers. In Patna

the venue of the conference; industrial workers, students, youths, teachers, office employees and other sections of the working people had shown keen interest in the campaign for the conference and enlisted themselves as volunteers, raised funds and made preparations for reception of the delegates and observers from the states. The walls of the city on high streets, link roads and in the backyards, had been serving announcements and words of welcome to the leaders, delegates and observers. An air of cordial reception, enthusiasm and exception prevailed among the public on the eve of the conference.

Not in Patna alone, but in other major cities and industrial towns in Bihar, the host state, a response unique in its kind had been evoked among the people. An enthusiasm that marked the response of the working people in Jamshedpur was witnessed also among the working people in Sindhri and elsewhere. It was beyond the imagination of many that a big conference as this could be organised only on the strength of funds collected from the people. At Chandrapura some people who had not been covered by the fund collection drive came forward on their own to ask the organisers if they could also donate.

While people's response was at high tide, the administration and interested political parties and circles had resorted to obstructionist tactics as usual in a bid to foil the **Conference**. Posters were repeatedly torn off, wall writings effaced by the police themselves and the CRP had sought to dismantle the dais at the meeting place on order from the District Magistrate. Many people who had been coming by trains to join the procession and meeting on the opening day were obstructed. Even some delegates were obstructed

at the time of joining the delegate session. The active support and co-operation of the public, however, stood behind the organisers all the way to make the conference a grand success.

The conference had roused enthusiasm among the intellectuals and various professional people too. The reception committee formed on the occasion included Dr. Pradhan, S. Prasad, Head of the Dept of Economics, Anugrahanarayan Social Research Centre as the chairman of the committee and Dr. B. Mukhopadhyay, renowned Orthopaedic Surgeon, Sri Radharaman, one of the convenors of the Civil Liberty Union and Additional Advocate General of Bihar, Sri Prabhasankar Misra, Senior Advocate, Patna High Court, Professor Dr. R. K. Sinha of Patna University, etc. as members.

The conference began with its open session held on the 16th February. A mammoth meeting was organised on the occasion at the Gandhi Maidan in the heart of the city. Messages and greetings had poured in from fraternal international and national organisations like World Federation of Trade Unions, British Trade Union Congress, C.G.T. (France), All Union Central Committee of Trade Unions (Moscow), All China Federation of Trade Unions (Peking), I.L.O. headquarter in Geneva, AITUC, BMS, NLO, HMS, NFITU, All-India Railwaymen's Federation etc.

The delegates and observers from different states as also thousands of people from far away places in Bihar had started arriving to attend the open session on the previous day. By morning of 16th, 2500 delegates and observers from Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Delhi, Haryana, Kerala, Karnataka Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal had assembled in

the city. All through the day there were rains and chilly wind. But this adverse weather could not dampen the enthusiasm of the delegates, nor of the people of Patna. Shortly after midday a huge procession of industrial workers from public and private sectors including steel and engineering industries, miners, Adivasi men and women workers, agricultural labourers, office employees and other working people from all corners of Bihar started moving in the rains through the streets of Patna. The spectacle of this 6 km long moving column of people, this colourful procession with thousands of festoons, waving banners, raising legitimate demands, condemning the killings and repressions on the working people by all the different governments at the Centre and in the states, pledging unity and solidarity among all sections of the toiling people, and voicing a firm determination to carry on a ceaseless struggle against the black legislations aiming to curb the democratic rights of the working people, sent down a spark through the rows of the people who had gathered in thousands on the roadside, on house-tops, on balconies and at way side shops. The sense of dedication to task ahead, the unflinching determination to achieve the goal, the iron-pledge to uphold the correct revolutionary proletarian line—all that were writ large on the marchers parading the city's arteries had infected the people, welding a bond of unity between the two. Overwhelmed with wonder they observed that Patna had witnessed big rallies and processions, but not a discipline army of people as the one moving down its streets that afternoon. For owners of streetside shops it was a new experience, since they had no fear this time of unruly conduct by the marchers and did not therefore have to close their shops that day. Finally, at around

4 p.m. the procession made its way into the meeting place which swelled into a vast sea of humanity.

The meeting began with the Internationale sung by the DYU music squad. Comrade S. K. Pramanik, President, UTUC (Lenin Sarani) took the chair. Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, General Secretary of the SUCI, was the Guest-in-Chief.

In his opening address, Comrade Shankar Singh, Vice-President of the UTUC (Lenin Sarani) offered revolutionary greetings to the delegates, observers and the people who had rallied at the meeting. Pointing to the clandestine attempt to foil the Conference by using the administrative machinery, Comrade Singh said that the success of the meeting was due to the all-out co-operation and support from the people. He urged the working people to speedily advance the working class movement in our country from its present stage on to the correct base political line in order to bring about the end to exploitation by the ruling capitalist class and thereby pave the way for solving the basic problems confronting the people's life.

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, the Chief Guest on the occasion, began his address by offering revolutionary greetings to the people of Patna who had participated in many glorious movements in the past. Analysing the complex character of the present situation, Comrade Mukherjee said: This conference is being held at a very crucial phase in national as also international situation. The workers will have to understand the complex character of this situation. They will have to realise that they cannot win emancipation by fighting for economic demands only. They must analyse thoroughly and critically the cause of crises perpetrated by the ruling class

(Contd. to Page 5)

Movements—One from Within through their Revisionist Social Putting Tight Control over Trade Union Bodies

(Contd. from Page 4)

in socio-political sphere and more particularly, in the cultural-ethical sphere of our life. For, history has devolved upon the working class the responsibility to free human society from all sorts of bondage—free production, science, and this entire sphere of knowledge, ethics and morals from the grip and tentacles of capitalist exploitation.

The crisis which has been accentuating in the capitalist world with every passing day is creating ground for the revolutionary transformation of society. The world is now divided into two camps—the capitalist social system and the socialist social system. The world capitalism is now passing through the third phase of intense general crisis. This crisis is manifesting itself in every aspect of the socio-political life of the people. It is being reflected also in the political parties of the ruling capitalist class. The Congress itself, which ruled the country for 30 years, is now split into two.

Confronted with this ever-deepening crisis, the working class has before it the urgent task of finding out the root cause and determining the correct way to emancipation. There are some political parties which go by the name of communist parties and speak of working class

movements. But about the real character of our present social set up they are spreading only confusion among the people and obstructing the growth and development of the legitimate democratic mass movements on the correct political line.

You know that our society is class divided. Through correct and scientific analysis, you must decide which class or classes are in state power in our country and which class or classes are your allies in the ceaseless struggle against exploitation. Marxism-Leninism is the powerful weapon in your hands in this struggle—far more powerful than the arms which the ruling class has been pointing at you. The great philosophy of Marxism-Leninism has been handed down to us by the great leaders of the proletariat—**Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao Tse-tung, and Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, who elaborated, developed and concretised it in our country. You must learn this philosophy and grasp it ardently.

You know there are trade unions patronised by the ruling class. But the bosses of these trade unions are simply hoodwinking the working class and acting as the agents of the capitalist class within the working class movement. So long these bosses are in the good book of the ruling

class, they get all patronage and publicity. But the glorious struggles waged by you against the ruling class do not find any place in the monopoly Press. So you must rely upon yourselves, correctly analyse the present situation and make your own way on the correct base political line. As Lenin had taught, you must build up your trade unions as schools of communism.

You know how Mrs. Indira Gandhi was removed from power when the ruling class understood that the people's discontent against her Emergency rule might burst forth in unprecedented dimensions and the discontent might be channelised along the path of anti-capitalist Socialist Revolution. The Janata Party was formed in 48 hours' time and brought to power in the place of the Congress at the initiative of the class as a step to install the two-party parliamentary system and thereby arrest the legitimate democratic mass movements within the ambit of the parliamentary system. In this way the movements and sacrifices of the people were stabbed in the back by the ruling class.

So, the time has come when the working class must understand which is the correct revolutionary line. They must identify who are their enemy and

who are their genuine friend. They must recognise now which is the party that can lead the workers' emancipation and which are the parties acting as forces of compromise between labour and capital. Only by finding out the correct revolutionary path and rallying under the banner of the genuine revolutionary party can the working class fulfil its historic responsibility to emancipate themselves and the masses of the people.

Comrade Pritish Chanda, General Secretary of the UTUC (Lenin Sarani), next addressed the meeting. Analysing the present political situation Comrade Chanda outlined the task before the working class and other sections of the toiling people. He said: The world capitalism is passing through extreme crisis. In our country the crisis has overtaken all spheres of life. The prices of all commodities are rising and there has been a steady erosion in the people's purchasing power. Unemployment is mounting high everyday and the moral standard in the public life is falling down. The root cause of all this is capitalism.

Time and again the people of our country have burst forth in agitation against capitalism. The Government came down with heavy hand to

suppress the movements. Unprecedented repression has been let loose. You all know how Sm. Indira Gandhi had suppressed these movements. Those who talk of fighting authoritarianism by fighting against Sm. Gandhi either talk so naively or do so consciously with the ulterior motive of defending the interest of the capitalist class. You must remember that you cannot root out authoritarianism without overthrowing capitalism.

Change of government, while the capitalist order remains intact, cannot bring end to capitalism. The coming of the Janata Party to power, at the Centre, or of the CPI(M) and some other parties in some states, in the place of the Congress has not brought about any basic change despite all the tall promises by the leaders of these parties. The same anti-working class, anti-people policies are being pursued. Repression on the working class goes on in the same magnitude. The Janata Governments in the States and at the Centre killed hundreds of workers in Kanpur, Panthnagar, Bailadilla, Dhanbad and other places to suppress legitimate democratic mass movements.

The government has come up with new offensive against the working people through its policy of wage-freeze under

(Contd. to Page 8)



A section of the huge gathering in the Open Session of the 16th All India Conference of UTUC (Lenin Sarani) held at the Gandhi Maidan, Patna

Whose Prosperity

(Contd. from Page 3)

Large industrial houses grew by 102.3 p.c. those of the large and medium sized enterprises in the private joint stock sector (including the LIH's) grew by 106 p.c. and the public sector grew by 140 p.c.. It is true that between 1972 and 1976 the assets of large houses grew by 69 p.c. against 46 percent for the whole of private sector.

.....So far as the pattern of investment is concerned, there can be no doubt that a large share of the assets of the top houses is concentrated in the basic and capital goods industries and in certain key sectors of the consumer goods industries like cement, paper, drugs, automobiles and scooters. But far from being a black mark against them, this is a point in their favour, for it shows that they have, by and large, been responsive to the government's exhortations to 'build the sinews of the economy'.

.....in the period 1959-64 ... the large houses grew disproportionately fast but this was dictated to a very large extent by the complex technology and the very large minimum size of investment in what came later to be called the 'core' sector. What is too often forgotten is the high degree of risk that was inherent in the decision to enter these areas of industry. *The large houses cannot altogether be blamed for having sought to minimise the risk by developing close links with the government of the day and seeking its protection through pre-emptive purchases, guaranteed prices, and blanket protection from foreign competition. Indeed the nascent public sector enjoyed precisely the same privileges.*

.....Since the rapid growth of the large industrial houses during the second and third plans was also accompanied by a considerable professionalisation of management and the beginning of the divorce between ownership and management that

Why the Spurt in 'Educated Unemployed' —and how the Bourgeoisie wants to solve it

Year by year the unemployment figures are rising sharply and along with it the number of educated unemployed is increasing too. According to some statistics by the National Sample Survey sometime ago published in 'India Today' for the period of 1961 upto 1976 the unemployed matriculates had increased from 4 lakhs to 28.29 lakhs, while unemployed undergraduates rose from about 1 lakh to over 12 lakhs and postgraduate unemployed rose from less than 1 lakh to 10 lakhs in the said period. These are official figures, however, and do not give a true picture of the actual extent of unemployment since a great part of the unemployed do not register their names at the Employment Exchanges. If according to that publication the same 'growth rate' of graduates and technical personnel is maintained there will be 3.5 million unemployed graduates by 1985. If the 'growth rate' of graduates and technical personnel until 1986 remained zero, in other words, if new admission to higher education was completely stopped, the 'backlog' of educated unemployed might be absorbed in the economy provided it continued at the growth rate recorded in 1976. This is of course Government's line of thinking.

What is the cause of

characterises advanced capitalism, is marked in a very real sense, the coming of age of indigenous Indian capitalism. To condemn this development and seek in effect, to slow it down or even reverse it, is to fly in the face of the logic of capitalist development." (Italics added)

The advocates for People's Democratic Revolution in our country may please note all this.

this steep rise in unemployment? The root cause lies in the crisis ridden moribund capitalist system itself. As an inevitable outcome of capitalist production relation and motive force of production which is to earn maximum profit, the purchasing power of the people in capitalist countries is declining steadily, resulting in continuous shrinkage of

Inside the West Bengal Assembly

(Contd. from Page 3)

Comrade Sarkar also showed that this 'Left Front' Government under the leadership of CPI(M) is pursuing its labour policy which has endeared it to the monopolists to the serious detriment of the left and democratic movement in the state. The policy in sum and substance has only one objective of safeguarding the interests of the capitalists, thoroughly immersed in crisis, from militant struggles or the workers. It is propagating place in industry, 'law and order'. More production for the national and such other class collaborationist concepts in order to arrest class struggle and resistance of the oppressed masses. CPI(M) is doing this to earn the confidence and trust of the ruling bourgeoisie as a partner in its design of two-party democracy, CPI(M) run 'Left Front' Government is a best illustration as how to make ineffective the resistance of the oppressed people against the capitalist exploitation from within. This government talks of worker's interest but on every concrete instance, be it the fight of the jute mill workers of the Engineering workers of the press workers, this government has come out with a hotch-potch solution with some adhoc pay increase or like that. The real issues like retrenchment of thousands of workers, increase in work-

national market, while internationally capitalist world market is becoming more and more contracted too, due to the emergence of socialist and newly resurgent countries after abolition of colonial rule. Thus, today, in the third phase of intense general crisis of capitalist world economy the crisis in our country where purchasing power of the people has all along been abysmally low is particularly acute. For lack of market capital is lying idle and becoming bureaucratic while even installed industrial capacity cannot be utilized fully, in fact can be utilized less

load, lifting of the Emergency provisions to curtail arbitrarily the legal dues in it as recommended by a commission as in the case of the jute workers have all been shelved to shield the monopolists. Indeed, CPI(M) is showing by concrete acts and policies from the government that it can serve the bourgeoisie better than the branded bourgeois parties like Congress (I) and Janata. It is now a very serious contender for the third alternative in the bourgeois design of two-party democracy.

In fine, Comrade Sarkar said that some leaders of Janata Party had declared in a mass meeting that they would even try to topple this government because of the atrocities perpetrated by it on the refugees of Marichjhanpi but SUCI does not subscribe to this kind of politics. Although SUCI has raised voice of protest and organised public opinion against the dastardly act of the government against the refugees, it would fight any attempt to topple a government from above. SUCI's fight against CPI(M) and its 'Left Front' Government is based on ideological political principles and to give defeat to all sorts of opportunism that stand in the way of developing real struggling unity of the oppressed masses against capitalism and is not guided by pragmatism of bourgeois parliamentary politics.

and less which leads to increasing lay off and retrenchment, resulting in increasing unemployment. Those who invite investment of capital and pose the question as if investments of capital were a solution to unemployment and economic problems are either not willing to admit the extent of capitalist crisis at this stage of capitalism or else they purposively want to hoodwink the people about the cause of economic crisis in order to serve capitalism.

Of the great problem caused by increasing unemployment for the bourgeoisie the educated unemployed represent a special category; they can think, and they create far greater pressure with their demands for jobs. Apart from this the bourgeoisie apprehends that equipped with a critical and analytical mind educated unemployed may find out the root cause of the present crisis. To solve this problem there are only two ways: one is to provide all the educated people with jobs, but this the bourgeoisie cannot do because capitalism stands as a stumbling block, and the other way is to remove the educated unemployed i.e. to reduce their numbers by curtailing higher education. And since the bourgeoisie cannot do the former they have chosen the second alternative: to curtail higher education. The bourgeoisie is of course carefully hiding this fact and is trying to indirectly put the blame on the present education system for the rising number of educated 'unemployed', and raising a hue and cry about the outmoded system being unpurposeful 'unrelated to the needs of society' etc. and therefore is in need of reform. To prove their point the bourgeoisie has set up countless commissions to probe into these aspects of educational affairs throughout the years, who all reach more or less the same conclusions. Thus, years ago the Kothari

(Contd. to Page 7)

The Basic Charter of Demands adopted at the 16th All India Conference of UTUC (Lenin Sarani) at Patna

[Following is the Charter of Demands adopted at the 16th All India Conference of UTUC (Lenin Sarani) at Patna. It was moved by Comrade Fatick Ghosh and seconded by Amar K. Pandey.—Ed. Board, Proletarian Era.]

Charter of Demand

This Conference adopts the following basic charter of demands and calls upon the Indian working class and toiling people to close up their ranks and rally in support of this basic charter and strive hard for their attainment by building up united struggles. This Conference demands of the government both at the Centre and in the States to come forward to concede to and implement these demands forthwith. This Conference invites other Central Trade Union centres to build up united forum to conduct the united struggles of the working class and toiling people and sincerely hopes that they would respond to this call in concrete initiative and measures for forging this unity and to give its concrete shape in united platform of struggle on the basis of common agreed programme and a code of conduct.

This Conference calls upon both the Central / or State Governments to—

(1) Withdraw forthwith the Industrial Relations Bill brought by it ;

(2) Fix irreducible national minimum wages on the basis of norms set down by the 15th National Labour Conference and prohibit legally any fixation of wage rates below this minimum ;

(3) Merger of DA with basic wages with full neutralisation of the increase in cost of living as also point to point adjustment in calculating DA ;

(4) Compile the cost of living index in the states on the internationally accepted scientific norms, principles and for so doing associate workers' representatives at the body. The Bhattacharjee Committee recommendation in West Bengal should immediately be implemented in its entirety and not as mutilated and wrongly computed by the Simla Bureau ; the base year for compilation of index should be 1960 and not 1971 ; fraudulent index by Simla Bureau should be corrected ;

(5) Remove all restrictions on settlement of charters long pending

especially in industries like Banking, Jute, Textile, Coal, Engineering etc. Further the 'set guideline' of the Bureau of Public Enterprises should be removed forthwith in order to ensure unfettered right of collective bargaining in all public sector bodies and establishments ;

(6) The existing DA formula variable with rise in cost of index should not be altered nor the rate of neutralisation now in practice should be disturbed. Rather the compensation for the erosion of real wages of workers should be fully made by improving upon the formula and the rate of neutralisation now in force ;

(7) Implement the principles of 'Bonus as deferred wage' in all offices and establishments, ceiling of 20% should be removed and railways, posts and telegraphs and other departmental undertakings should be brought under the purview of Bonus Act ; reduction of working hour to 40 hours a week ; hours in night shift not to exceed 6 hours a day ; calculation of overtime work and payment of allowance for overtime work to be made daily ; for any work beyond working hours overtime allowance is to be paid double the

rate ; provision for Casual and Festival holidays with wages to be made ; speedy compulsory realisation of arrear wages ; employer's contribution to EPF and ESI to be provided with safeguards against victimisation for such demands ; stringent punishment for violation of labour laws by the managements ; free legal assistance to the worker by the government—should be assured ;

(8) Ensure full democratic rights of trade union movement by strictly adhering to the principle of non-interference of police in trade union movements and struggles, giving exemplary punishment to police officials guilty of siding with the management in breaking strikes or movement of the workers or inflicting tortures, harassment and other vindictive actions ;

(9) Ensure full trade union and political rights to the employees of the government, semi-government and autonomous bodies by repealing the old Service Conduct Rules, Essential Service Maintenance Act, Industrial Security Forces Act, the Arms Act and such other undemocratic black provisions ;

(10) Ensure full security of service, freedom of trade union activities and forms of struggles and movement including the right to strike and by restricting the arbitrary power and activities of the management ; a new labour law is to be enacted in consultation with functioning Central Trade Unions ; the consultation with Trade Union bodies should be fair and free from discrimination and representation to different governmental committees and bodies should be on the basis of parity ;

(11) Introduce integrated scheme of social security against unemploy-

SPURT IN EDUCATED UNEMPLOYEDS

(Contd. from Page 6)

Commission noted that : "The existing system of education is largely unrelated to life and there is a wide gulf between its content and purposes and the concern of national development," while the University Grants Commission (U.G.C.) in its annual report has concluded : "The present system is generating much waste and stagnation". According to a report published in Statesman on Feb. 4, the U.G.C. referring to higher education "expressed concern over the growing spectre of the educated unemployed, unplanned expansion and proliferation of new universities and colleges which in the context of rising cost of education, had led to the dilution of standards.... The commission held that it was high time that higher education was "radically" changed

ment, sickness, old age, infirmities, widowhood, orphanage etc. on the lines internationally well-recognised and accepted in many countries. Employers contribution to ESI for better medical facilities is not only to be ensured by introducing deterrent punishment in default but it should also be enhanced. Better retirement scheme, Family Pension, should also be introduced in all establishments and more particularly in the low paid categories.

(12) Statutory fixation of minimum wages for the agricultural workers as also independent machinery together with the representation of their representatives should be formed at Block Level for the implementation of the Wage rate and for their compulsory adherence by the land-owners ; statutory provision fixing land-labour ratio in plantation should be made and to be enforced by similar independent agency.

and adapted to the needs of a developing society. It called for measures which would reduce pressures on the university system."

In this way the bourgeoisie with slogans like, 'higher education is not for all' apprehending a threat to their exploitative class rule in the steady rise of educated unemployed is trying to pattern the mind of the public and prepare the ground for educational 'reforms' which will artificially reduce the number of educated unemployed. As far back as 1953 the Union Education Minister, Maulana Azad bluntly admitted their aim to curtail higher education : "The most important reform, of University Education" he said, "appears to limit the number of students". And accordingly the Congress began their series of educational reforms with seat restriction scheme and by raising the fees of University education. The wild experiments in changing structural pattern of education from 10+2+2 year course to 11+3 year and after some years reverting back again to 10+2+2 (3) years course creating an unprecedented chaos in the educational field and causing untold hardship to the students involved, had but one underlying aim to curtail more and more the scope for higher education. Similarly, introduction of vocational and job oriented education and the generally heavy bias towards technical aspects of knowledge had all the same purpose. Each of these so-called reforms was strongly opposed alone by our party

(Contd. to Page 8)

The Great Dividing Line in Trade Union Movement is between those who stand for Emancipation of the toiling people and those who Defend Capitalism under various covers

(Contd. from Page 5)

guideline' and by bringing up, like Sm. Gandhi in 1971, the black bill on Industrial Relations to fetter down the workers. The government's shrewdly contemplated design is to contain the working class movement under cover of 'consensus' reached through tacit and clandestine co-operation of the trade unions under the leadership of revisionists and social democrats or of their own trade union wings.

In West Bengal the people are experiencing the anti-people, non-left conduct of the so-called Left Front Government led by the CPI(M). This government has been suppressing all legitimate democratic mass movements and torturing and killing the refugees from Dandakaranya in a most inhuman and barbarous way.

Both the Janata Government at the Centre and the CPI(M) led Government in West Bengal are asking the workers not to fight. Sm. Gandhi had also asked the same.

In the name of 'peace in industry' the Janata and the CPI(M)-led governments are passing the buck on the people in the present stage of extreme crisis of capitalism.

But we know that so long as the capitalist rule remains, exploitation and oppression will persist and the fight against capitalism is inevitable. During the first U. F. Government in West Bengal in 1967, **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** our great leader, teacher and guide, had pointed out that a genuine Left Government would not behave like a bourgeois government. The attitude to the people's legitimate democratic mass movements distinguishes a genuine

Left Government from a bourgeois government. A genuine Left Government does not use the State apparatus to repress legitimate democratic movements. On the contrary, it encourages the growth and development of such movements and does not allow police to interfere with them. Comrade Subhodh Banerjee, our late Vice-President, who was the Labour Minister then, had implemented this policy against all odds and opposition. But the present CPI(M)-led 'Left Front' Government in West Bengal is suppressing the legitimate democratic mass movements and thereby subserving the interests of the ruling class.

The agents of the capitalists now advocate that trade unions should discard politics. Through this advocacy they are actually reflecting and serving the bourgeois class politics. Some people also advocate reforms in the present system as solution to the basic problems. But without changing this system through revolution you cannot solve the problems, or overcome the crises. You should also remember the teaching of Lenin that without the revolutionary politics of the proletariat the exploited masses can never achieve emancipation. So, if you want the revolutionary transformations, you will have to find out the correct revolutionary line and the correct revolutionary party. The question which comes straight today is whether the trade union movements will go on the line of economism-revisionism-reformism or on the revolutionary line of the proletariat. The leaders of the trade unions affiliated to the ruling parties,

or to the so-called Left Parties, are confusing the working class on this vital question and they are arresting the movements and making these appendage to the ruling capitalist class.

The UTUC (Lenin Sarani) is the only trade union in this country which has been holding high the banner of proletarian revolution and guiding the working class on this line.

The need of the hour is to face the mounting attack of the ruling class through united struggle. Close your ranks and build up unity with all sections of the working people. Time and again we have appealed to the Central Trade Unions, and we appeal from this platform today, to forge unity for joint struggle on the basis of a minimum agreed programme and code of conduct and to take this unity to grass-root level.

Comrades, remember Marx's teaching that to change the world the workers must change themselves first. You must fight against old and obsolete ideas, must free yourselves from the grip of communalism parochialism, casteism, and superstition of all sorts. Grasp modern scientific thought and lead the exploited millions to the desired goal of emancipations.

Comrade Gyan Singh Chowdhury, Vice-President of the UTUC (Lenin Sarani), then addressed the meeting pointing out the heinous role of the leaders of the big trade unions in sacrificing the interests of the working class and defending the interests of the ruling class. He emphasised that the UTUC (Lenin Sarani), following the correct path of working class movement, would

frustrate their design and lead the struggle to its logical culmination.

Comrade S. K. Pramanik, one of the pioneers of the Indian trade union movements, in his presidential address paid homage to the martyrs of the working class movements. He pointed out that the trade union movement was one step in the path of achieving emancipation from exploitation and urged the working class to draw lessons from the entire working class movement and fulfil the historic task.

Comrade Pratibha Mukherjee, President West Bengal Agricultural Workers' Union, Comrade J. James, President, Kerala State Committee of UTUC (Lenin Sarani) and Comrade Jainal Abedin MLA (Assam) and a mass leader, also spoke at the meeting.

The delegate session of the conference was held on the 17th and 18th February at the Srikrishna Memorial Hall. The report of this session will appear in our next issue.

Spurt in Educated Unemployed

(Contd. from Page 7)

Our party alone exposed the underlying motive of each of the so-called reforms being aimed at restricting higher education and eliminating even the limited scope available in bourgeois education for acquisition of true knowledge as distinct from mere accumulation of information. Change of Governments whether at the Centre or in States has not changed anything in this outlook and policy approach towards education, or in their efforts to curtail education, in general and higher education in particular whatever be the slogans. Even the so-called leftists and Marxists' who are in different state governments show that they are in no way different. All the educational policies which they have taken since coming to power aim at the same object to curtail higher education.

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